

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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CINCUSNAVEUR

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TUNIS 5002

USCINCEUR AND CINCUSNAVEUR ALSO FOR POLADS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINS, TS

SUBJECT: HEDI NOUIRA REASSERTS EFFECTIVENESS OF HIS POLICY

AT JULY 2 CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING, SKEPTICS

CONTINUE CRITIISM

REF: (A) TUNIS 3866 DTG 291050Z MAY 76

1. SUMMARY: THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE DESTOURIAN SOCIALIST PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE CALLED AT THE HEIGHT OF SOCIAL UNREST DURING MAY WAS HELD AS SCHEDULED ON JULY 2. PRIME MINISTER HEDI NOUIRA USED OCCASION TO DESCRIBE UNREST AS NATURAL RESULT OF GROWTH, TO DEFEND HIS PAST SUCCESSFUL POLICIES AS HAVING PUT TUNISIA ON ROAD TO ECONOMIC GROWTH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, TO DESCRIBE FUTURE POLICY UNDER THE FIFTH DEVELOPMENT PLAN, AND TO
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CALL ON THE PSD MILITANTS NOT TO LOSE FAITH AT THE FIRST

SIGN OF TROUBLE. THE MEETING WAS LARGELY NOUIRA'S SHOW WITH PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA CLEARLY LESS ABLE TO SERVE AS THE NATION'S ORIGINATOR AND COORDINATOR OF POLICY. BOURGUIBA'S SPEECH TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WAS A LARGELY UNINTERESTING DESCRIPTION OF "BOURGUIBISM," BUT HE MADE SIGNIFICANT REMARKS DOWNPLAYING THE IMPORTANCE OF STRIKES AND CALLING ON THE RICH TO EXERCISE GREATER SOCIAL CONSCIENCE. ASIDE FROM GIVING NOUIRA OPPORTUNITY TO ASSERT EFFECTIVENESS OF HIS POLICY IN DEALING WITH NATION'S NEEDS, CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING APPEARS TO BE LARGELY A VICTORY FOR TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND HABIB ACHOUR. WHILE NOUIRA GAVE NO GROUND IN DEFENSE OF HIS POLICY, HIS ENEMIES WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUE TO CRITICIZE HIM FOR INEFFECTIVENESS AND VENALITY AND SOME LOCAL OBSERVERS CONTINUE TO PREDICT THAT HE WILL BE REMOVED AS PRIME MINISTER BEFORE END OF YEAR. END SUMMARY.

2. THE PSD'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CALLED INTO EXTRAORDINARY SESSION DURING MAY TO CONSIDER CAUSES AND CURES FOR SOCIAL UNREST THEN RAMPANT, MET AS SCHEDULED ON JULY 2-3. IT FOLLOWED STANDARD FORMAT USED IN THE TWO REGULAR MEETINGS HELD SINCE IT WAS ELECTED AT THE PSD'S 9TH CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER 1974. PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA AND PRIME MINISTER NOUIRA GAVE SPEECHES, CLOSED MEETINGS WERE HELD FOR MORE AMPLE DISCUSSION OF ISSUES, AND CLOSING CEREMONY WAS HELD IN WHICH PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER AGAIN SPOKE AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE MOTION WAS RELEASED. IN CONTRAST TO PAST MEETINGS, BOURGUIBA READ HIS SPEECH TO OPENING SESSION AND ONLY BRIEF EXCERPTS OF HIS EXTEMPORANEOUS CLOSING SPEECH WERE PUBLISHED IN PRESS. NOUIRA'S SPEECHES WERE MOST THOROUGHGOING DEFENSE OF HIS POLICIES SINCE 1974 PARTY CONGRESS WHILE WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF TUNISIA'S PROBLEMS AND THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WAS MUCH MORE ACRIMONIOUS THAN IN PAST.

3. NOUIRA'S SPEECH TO OPENING SESSION WAS FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN BOURGUIBA'S. HE GAVE THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE A TEXT BOOK EXPLANATION OF GROWING INSTABILITY IN TUNISIA, CALLING IT A HEALTHY SIGN THAT THE COUNTRY IS DEVELOPING

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INTO A MODERN SOCIETY. HE CHARACTERIZED SERIOUS PROBLEMS MANIFESTED IN MAY UNREST AS EITHER UNAVOIDABLE PRODUCTS OF GROWTH OR AS YET UNSOLVED PROBLEMS THAT GOT WILL SOON ATTACK. HE SAID TUNISIA HAS REJECTED TOTALITARIANISM AS THE MEANS OF PROMOTING DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTAINING STABILITY AND HAD OPTED INSTEAD FOR DEMOCRACY, WITH ALL ITS COSTS. HE WARNED, HOWEVER, THAT DEMOCRACY AS PRACTICED IN TUNISIA WILL CONTINUE WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF

THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM. NOUIRA WENT ON TO DEFEND HIS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY AS THE MOST EFFECTIVE ONE FOR TUNISIA AND CONTRASTED THE GROWTH RATES HE HAS ACHIEVED SINCE 1970 WITH THE POOR GROWTH PERFORMANCE AND THE SOMBRE SOCIAL CLIMATE UNDER BEN SALAH DURING THE 1960'S. NOUIRA CLOSED HIS SPEECH WITH A LONG DESCRIPTION OF THE GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE FIFTH DEVELOPMENT PLAN, SAYING THAT GOT POLICY WILL BE FOCUSED ON EMPLOYMENT CREATION, HOUSING CONSTRUCTION, REDUCING SOCIAL INEQUALITIES, AND INCREASING PERSONAL INCOME. NOUIRA CALLED HIS POLICY THE BEST FOR TUNISIA AND, IN EFFECT, WARNED THE PARTY NOT TO LOSE ITS SANG FROID AT THE FIRST SIGN THAT ALL PROBLEMS HAVE NOT YET BEEN SOLVED.

4. READING HIS SPEECH FROM A PREPARED TEXT, PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA BROKE FOR THE FIRST TIME WITH HIS PRACTICE OF SPEAKING EXTEMPORANEOUSLY TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. IT WAS A LARGELY UNINTERESTING DESCRIPTION OF "BOURGUIBISM," THE "SOCIAL CONTRACT," AND THE NEED FOR NATION UNITY. HE DID, HOWEVER, HAVE IMPORTANT STATEMENTS TO MAKE CONCERNING STRIKES AND TUNISIA'S NEW RICH. REGARDING STRIKES, HE EMPHASIZED THAT THEY ARE A NORMAL, LEGAL MEANS FOR WORKERS TO GET THEIR DEMANDS HEARD AND ANSWERED. HE WAS ONLY MILDLY CRITICAL OF STRIKES THAT ERUPTED IN MAY, NOTING THAT WORKERS HAD FAILED TO GO THROUGH ALL THE REQUIRED ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES. THIS APPROACH CONTRASTED SHARPLY WITH HIS SPEECHES OF LAST YEAR AND THE YEAR BEFORE IN WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED STRIKERS AS TRAITORS MALICIOUSLY SEEKING TO DESTROY THE NATION'S PROSPERITY. REGARDING THE NEW RICH, HE WARNED THEM AGAINST OSTENTATIOUS SHOW OF LUXURY WHILE CALLING ON INDUSTRIALISTS TO SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVE LEGAL AND CONTRACTUAL RIGHTS OF WORKERS AND TO SAFEGUARD THE DIGNITY OF THE WORKER.

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5. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL SITUATION AND THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO UNREST PROMPTED THE MOST AGITATED DISCUSSION WITHIN THE PARTY IN YEARS. BOTH NOUIRA AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WERE SEVERELY CRITICIZED. IN HIS CLOSING SPEECH, NOUIRA SAID THAT MANY OF THE INTERVENTIONS WERE CHARACTERIZED BY EXCESS" AND WARNED THAT INTENSITY OF FEELING SHOULD NOT MAKE PARTY LOSE SIGHT OF THE NEED TO SOLVE PRESSING PROBLEMS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT HABIB ACHOUR WAS NO LESS SEVERE IN DEFENSE OF WORKERS AND THE UGTT AND COUNTER-ATTACKED EFFECTIVELY. ACHOUR TOLD US THAT HE WAS PLEASED WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE ENCOUNTER AND BELIEVED THAT THE MEETING WAS A VICTORY FOR HIM AND HIS MOVEMENT.

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USCINCEUR AND CINCUSNAVEUR ALSO FOR POLADS

6. IN THE CLOSING SPEECHES OF THE SESSION, NOUIRA REITERATED MANY OF THE POINTS OF HIS OPENING SPEECH, CONCENTRATING ON EXHORTATIONS TO WORK HARDER IN THE FUTURE TO SOLVE THE NATION'S PROBLEMS, BUT HE ADDED AN IMPORTANT NEW POINT. HE SAID THE GOT WILL ADOPT MORE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO CONTROL TAX EVASION BUT PROMISED THAT TAX RATES WILL NOT GO UP. PRESS ACCOUNT OF BOURGUIBA'S CLOSING SPEECH WAS REMARKABLY SKETCHY. ITS ONLY NOTE OF INTEREST WAS A BRIEF EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE IN HEDINOUIRA AS PRIME MINISTER AND A REQUEST THAT HE SHOULD BE RECEIVED AS IF HE WERE A CHIEF OF STATE WHEN HE VISITS THE COUNTRYSIDE. THIS IS A FAR CRY INDEED FROM THE "THIS IS MY BELOVED SON IN WHOM I AM WELL PLEASED" FORMULA THE PRESIDENT HAS USED IN THE PAST TO ATTEMPT TO GIVE NOUIRA THE MANTEL OF TCLDUIBISM. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ECHOED, AS IT HAS IN THE PAST, THE MAIN POINTS

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OF NOUIRA'S SPEECH.

7. ON THE SURFACE, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING APPEARS TO BE A VICTORY FOR HEDI NOUIRA. HE MADE THE MOST THOROUGH EXPLANATION OF HIS POLICIES SINCE THE LAST PARTY CONGRESS AND SOUGHT TO PUT FAILURES IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE NORMAL BY-PRODUCTS OF GROWTH AND THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF SOLVING ALL PROBLEMS AT ONCE. FOR ANYONE ENTERTAINING THOUGHTS THAT BEN SALAH'S DOGMATIC SOCIALISM IS WHAT TUNISIA NEEDS, NOUIRA EXPOSED ITS FAILURES IN ABUNDANT DETAIL. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING ALSO APPEARS TO BE A VICTORY FOR HABIB ACHOUR AS TRADE UNION LEADER. NOUIRA'S SPEECHES REFERRED TO THE TRADE UNIONISTS' MAIN CONCERNS AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PUTS THE PARTY'S STAMP OF APPROVAL ON POLICIES DESIGNED FOR THE WORKERS. SIGNIFICANTLY, THE PRESIDENT HAS CEASED ATTACKING STRIKERS AND HAS FOR THE FIRST TIME CALLED ON THE NEW RICH TO EXERCISE A SOCIAL CONSCIENCE. CONSIDERING THE RESOURCES AT TUNISIA'S DISPOSAL AND THE PROBLEMS WITH WHICH IT MUST DEAL, THE POLICIES OUTLINED BY NOUIRA ARE PROBABLY THE BEST FORMULA FOR SUCCESS AND THE MOST LIKELY TO SATISFY THE DESIRES OF THE COUNTRY'S LABORING CLASSES WHILE GIVING ENTRE-RENEURS ENCOURAGEMENT TO INVEST IN THE FUTURE.

8 NEVERTHELESS, WE CONTINUE TO HEAR WIDE CRITICISM OF NOUIRA BOTH AS AN EFFECTIVE POLITICIAN AND AS A MOULDER OF EFFECTIVE POLICY. CERITICISM CONTINUES TO CENTER ON CORRUPTION OF HIGH OFFICIALS AND THEIR BUSINESSMAN ALLIES, ON GOT'S INABILITY OF SATISFY WORKER DISCONTENT, AND ON GENEROUS CONCESSIONS TO FOREIGN INVESTORS UNDER THE LAW OF APRIL 1972. SEVERAL OF OUR CONTACTS CLAIM TO KNOW FOR A FACT THAT HABIB BOURGUIBA, JR., IS SEEKING TO UNDERMINE AND THAT SOME MINISTERS OPENLY RIDICULE AND CRITICISE NOUIRA. SOME OBSERVERS ARE NOW SPECULATING THAT PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA IS PLANNING TO REMOVE NOUIRA AND REPLACE HIM WITH HIS SON OR SOME OTHER PRESENT, SENIOR GOT OFFICIAL AT THE END OF SUMMER AND RAMAHDAN. THE ABSENCE OF PRAISE FOR NOUIRA IN BOURGUIBA'S OPENING SPEECH AND THE FAINTENESS OF HIS ACCOLADE IN THE CLOSING SPEECH WILL CERTAINLY ADD TO THIS KIND OF SPECULATION.

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9. WHAT DOES NOUIRA HAVE GOING FOR HIM? FIRST, HE IS

SUCCESSFUL. HIS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES HAVE CAPITALIZED ON ADVANTAGEOUS CONDITIONS AND HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY MAXIMIZED TUNISIA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH OVER THE PAST SIX YEARS. THE TOP LEADERS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT APPRECIATE WHAT THIS HAS DONE FOR WORKERS AND THEY SUPPORT NOUIRA FULLY. THE NEWLY RICH ENTREPRENEURS WHO HAVE BENEFITED FROM NOUIRA'S ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION ALSO SUPPORT HIM. MOST IMPORTANTLY, NOUIRA'S ECONOMIC SUCCESSES HAVE WON HIM THE SUPPORT OF BOURGUIBA WHO DOES NOT WANT TO SEE HIS LIFE'S WORK AGAIN THREATENED AS IT WAS BY POPULAR UNREST AT THE END OF THE BEN SALAH YEARS. WHO IS AGAINST NOUIRA? MEN OF CONSUMING AMBITION. NOT A POLITICAL ANIMAL, NOT A MOBILIZER OF MASSES, NOUIRA HAS HAD A ONE-MAN CONSTITUENCY SINCE BECOMING PRIME MINISTER AND HE HAS NEVER SHOWN THAT HE IS CAPABLE OF CONTROLLING THE BODY POLITIC OR OF ENFORCING DISCIPLINE IN THE PARTY WHEN BOURGUIBA DOES NOT DO IT FOR HIM. NOUIRA HAS NUMEROUS ENEMIES WITHIN THE CURRENT RULING GROUP, FOREMOST OF WHOM IS HASSEN BELKHODJA WITH MME. BOURGUIBA NOT FAR BEHIND. WE NOW HEAR THAT BOURGUIBA, JR., IS SEEKING TO UNDERMINE HIM AND THAT MOHAMED MZALI IS BEING THOUGHT OF AS A PROMISING SUCCESSOR. NOUIRA IS ALSO OPPOSED BY MEN WHO CONSIDER THEMSELVES TRUE DEMOCRATS AND DISLIKE THE GROWING RIGIDITY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THEIR OWN EXCLUSION FROM IT. WE BELIEVE THAT MUCH OF THE UPPER AND MIDDLE BUREAUCRACY, TRAINED ON FRENCH MODELS, IS MORE STATIST ORIENTED THAN NOUIRA'S CURRENT POLICY AND WOULD WELCOME A LESS LIBERAL ECONOMY AND MORE DIRECT STATE CONTROL OF PRODUCTION. FINALLY, A SMALL GROUP OF POLITICIZED RADICALS CENTERED ON THE STUDENT POPULATION OPPOSE NOUIRA AS THE EMBODIMENT OF THE ENTIRE SYSTEM. NOUIRA IS SERIOUSLY THREATENED, HOWEVER, ONLY BY THE INNER CIRCLE OF TOP LEADERS.

10. NOIRA'S ESSENTIAL PROBLEM REMAINS HIS LACK OF PROVEN POLITICAL POWER. AS LONG AS HE REMAINS A LEADER WITH A ONE-MAN CONSTITUENCY, HE WILL BE SUBJECT TO PERIODIC ASSAULTS ON HIS POSITION BY MEN WHO WANT TO SUCCEED HIM AND, IN TURN, SUCCEED BOURGUIBA. DESPITE ENCROACHING AGE AND INCREASING INABILITY TO GOVERN, BOURGUIBA STILL

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HAS THE FULL POWER TO REMOVE NOUIRA AND REPLACE HIM WITH ANYONE HE WISHES. HE MAY CARRY OUT HIS LONG HELD DREAM OF BEING SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON OR MAY WELL NAME SOMEONE ELSE TO REPLACE NOUIRA WHOM HE THINKS MORE LIKELY TO PROTECT "BOURGUIBISM" AFTER HIS DEATH. EACH TIME SERIOUS QUESTIONS ARISE OVER STABILITY OF THE REGIME, NOUIRA WILL COME UNDER FIRE AS LONG AS HE HAS NO WIDER POLITICAL CONSTITUENCY THAN A MAN WHO WANTS HIS POLITICAL LEGACY

SAFEGUARDED.

11. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING GAVE LITTLE INDICATION THAT A NEW POLITICAL DYNAMIC IS CRYSTALLIZING. DESPITE THE HEAVY CRITICISM OF NOUIRA IT WAS THE PRIME MINISTER'S SHOW BECAUSE HE HAD BOURGUIBA'S BACKING. ALTHOUGH BOURGUIBA LACKS THE CAPACITY TO BE FULLY IN COMMAND HIMSELF, HIS AUTHORITY IS STILL THE BASIS OF GOVERNMENT IN TUNISIA. IF ANYTHING, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE GAVE A TASTE OF THE ACRIMONY OF POLITICAL BATTLE IN POST-BOURGUIBA TUNISIA. THE URGENCY OF THE QUESTION OF THE REGIME'S GENERAL STABILITY WHICH PROMPTED THE CALLING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE INTO SESSION HAS BEEN BLUNTED BY A DECLINE IN UNREST. THE ONSET OF SUMMER HAS SENT STUDENTS HOME AND HAS ENDED VIRTUALLY ALL STRIKE ACTIVITY. FEW TUNISIANS DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT UNREST WILL BE RE-KINDLED IN THE FALL AND THAT THE REGIME'S STABILITY WILL AGAIN COME INTO QUESTION.

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